

**UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS LOWELL  
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**MOGAN CULTURAL CENTER  
LOWELL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK  
UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS LOWELL  
ORAL HISTORY PROJECT**

**LAOTIAN SECRET WAR EXHIBIT**

**INFORMANT: SIVILAY SENGPRASEUTH**

**INTERVIEWERS: SARAH MORRISON AND MEHMED ALI**

**TRANSLATOR: KHUN PHATANA**

**DATE: JANUARY 19, 2008**

**S = SARAH**

**T = TRANSLATOR**

**A = ALI**

**SS = SIVILAY**

**Tape 08.08**

**Note: "T" will be used to denote Translator's voice, translating the questions asked of and the responses from the informant.**

S: This is Sarah Morrison interview Sivilay Sengpraseuth for the Laotian Exhibit, along with Khun. Do you want to introduce yourself?

T: You want me to say it in English?

S: Yes.

A: Yah, what I would like you to do is translate. So when she asks a question, then you can translate that into Laos, and then retranslate back his answer.

T: Umhm. Let me say that my name's (--) You're recording right now, right?

A: Right.

S: Yah. Do you want to check to make sure?

T: My name is Khun Phatana. I will be translator for today.

S: Okay. I will begin with where and when were you born?

T: I'm going to ask him right now.

A: Okay. So no, but what we need you to do now is to give the answer back in English.  
(T: Okay) So then they will transcribe that response.

T: Okay. He was born in Ban Muang, Champasak Province in Laos.

S: In what year?

T: He was born 1939.

A: Does he know the date?

T: December 11, 1939.

S: Okay. Did he move around, or stay in the same area?

T: He moved around to Vientiane, the Capitol from where he was born in Champasak.

S: Okay. And when was that?

T: In 1973 he moved from Champasak to the Capitol Vientiane.

S: Okay. Did you go to school?

T: He went to school at the Temple in Champasak as a Monk. That's where he learned his education, reading and writing.

S: Umhm. And how old was he at that time?

T: About twenty-nine years old when he was in Champasak as a Monk.

S: Okay. Did you go to school when you were a child, when you were younger?

T: He started when he was ten years old and finished fifth grade.

S: Okay. What did your parents do for work?

T: His parents in Champasak was pretty much farmers.

S: Were farmers, umhm. Okay, what are your parents' names?

T: His father's name is [Sang,] and his mom's name is [Kong.]

S: Okay. What are your grandparents' names on both sides?

T: His grandfather's name is [name unclear] and his grandma is [name unclear].

S: Is that maternal side, or paternal side?

T: This is from the grandma's side, mother's side.

S: Okay, does he know both sides, or just that one?

T: He doesn't know the father's side. [Laughs]

S: He doesn't know? Okay.

T: It's been a long time.

S: Yah. Do you have siblings? Does he have brothers for sisters?

T: He have two brothers and five sisters.

S: Um, okay. What are their names?

T: He have two big brothers name [Sing], and the other one is [Sang]. And his big brother, I mean sister is [Bahn, Lien, Nuon].

A: Great.

S: Do you remember your great grandparents?

T: He doesn't remember. [Chuckles]

S: All right. So he wouldn't remember what he did for fun then. What was your first job?

T: As a Monk, his first job. His first job is the Monk.

S: And he was twenty-nine at that time?

T: He was twenty-nine at the time.

A: What did he do when he was twenty? He must have been working? He wasn't in school, or (--)

T: I believe he went to school first, finish the fifth grade before become a [unclear] at twenty-nine. So by that time he must be in the twenties, something.

S: Okay. Did you belong to a political party?

T: As in Laos or in here?

S: In Laos, yah.

T: He was a soldier in 1969, and he never joined a political party, but he served under the Royal Army.

S: Okay.

A: I'd like to ask a question. Why did you decide to become a Monk?

T: It was a tradition from the parents that a child being a boy, it's a tradition to send him to become a novice. It's the most widely respect in the society at the time. And also give the opportunity to study and research in the Buddhist Compound.

A: And wasn't that ability elsewhere necessarily to study?

T: There wasn't a lot of opportunities, rather than went to the military school and become a soldier to get certain training and education.

S: Okay.

T: And I think he renounce from become Monk to become civilian.

A: And how old was he when he did that?

T: Ah, let me see. Well if we do the math, 1969 minus 39, right? 69 and 39 is 30 years old. 30 years old.

A: So he was only a Monk for a year.

T: Almost ten years.

A: Well you said he became a Monk when he was 29. Did he mean that he became a Monk when he was 19?

T: Sixteen years.

A: Sixteen years old. Okay, not 29.

T: Six years as a novice. He was a novice for six, a novice as a Monk. Not, (--)

A: Not a Monk but a novice.

T: Yah, a novice six years, and then 16 years as a Monk. So that's 22 years in the monastery.

A: Okay, and until he was the age of 39.

T: Umhm. Then he joined the military school.

A: All right. Great. Okay, that makes a lot more sense.

T: Yah.

A: Thank you.

T: [Unclear]

S: And then he went to military school you said?

T: Military school for different rank officer.

S: Okay. So, and that was for the Loyalist?

T: Royal Army.

S: Royal Army, okay.

A: So another natural question would be at this point, why did he decide to give up the Monkhood?

S: Yah, and pursue getting into the military?

T: Pretty much that it was about surviving. At the same time as being a novice, or Monk, there wasn't a lot of opportunities. At the same time the country is at war. So they are recruiting more people and more training to go fight the war at that time in 1969. And then he had the opportunity to become a Commando. With 452 peoples was sent to Thailand to train and become Commandos.

S: And he was chosen to be a commander?

T: In part of the Commandos unit.

S: Okay. Now why?

A: I'm sorry. Is it Commandos?

T: Commandos.

S: Oh Commando.

A: Not Commander.

S: Okay.

T: Not Commander, Commandos.

A: Commandos. So kind of an elite force.

T: Yes, unit.

S: Right. So I guess my question is how did he get chosen for that particular group?

T: It's just it was more like a merit. Like he went to Long Tieng. One of the war at that time he was fighting between two different parties. But he was sent there to break the, which was the violence, the fighting. And they turn back, then his Unit 205 and get promoted to be in that division.

A: To the Commandos Division? (T: Umhm) So he started out as a regular soldier.

T: Regular soldier, sent out to war.

A: Okay. And then he was fighting the Communist as this time?

T: About fighting the Communist. It was in Northern of Laos, Long Tieng. For four or five months they were fighting in Northern of Laos.

A: Okay.

T: With the Communist.

A: And then so he was in that, those battles and then he was promoted to Commando? (T: Umhm) What was the name of his first unit that he was, 205?

T: It was 205. 205.

A: 205 is what, the original?

T: I think it's what they call [unclear] infantries. Yah Infantry 205, (A: Okay) the unit for the Commandos.

A: Oh that's for the Commandos. (T: Yes) That's the elite duty Number 205.

T: Yes, 205.

A: Okay. Great. Thanks.

S: If I could just back track a little bit. Can you just talk a little bit about before the war, what life was like?

T: It was very heavy tragedies, and [start] 452 people were sent to that unit, and only 36 survived and he was one of them, most lucky. It's the most painful, most horrible of his life to see you know, that his unit is almost wiped out almost 90%.

A: Why don't you follow this stream right now and you can try to go back to pre-war. But continue with this because this is where he wants to go. So talk maybe like what happened with the Commando Unit, and what happened to all the people that died. (S: Yah, where (--) And was it many battles, or (--)

S: Okay. Where were they, where were they fighting I guess? What area? Was there one specific area? One battle? Were there many battles that he was in?

T: He went (--) There's so many different area that was sent to, from one area to different areas of Northern of Laos, different mountains. And he described them with various place.

A: The different place names?

T: Different place names.

A: Could we document those place names for the record? But she's not going to be able to kind of understand those. If you could explain each place, the specific name. Is [Phou,] is that a mountain?

T: [Phou] is a mountain. [Phone rings, apologizes] [Buong Luong] is on the Division 2 of Laos. They have Divisions, First Division, Second Division. So he was on the Second Division. And the mountain Phou, meaning [Phou Kuhn,] is also in Second Division. So it's the two mountains are the most.

S: So is the First Division the highest, and the Second Division under that (T: Yes) in the mountain ranges? Is that what?

T: Yes. (S: Okay) Because the First Division I believe is more like up north, but his was in the, they call Liberation areas of Northern of Laos. Upper of [Luangphabang].

S: So that's where the Communist hadn't infiltrated yet? And so they were trying to keep them, keep them away.

T: Right. And those are they call the Neutral, not Neutral Zone but National Zone. They call the Liberation Zone. It's the Division (--)

A & S: Liberation Zone?

T: Right. That's why it's just like very similar to Iraq. You have the upper and southern, and then the Neutral Zone is you know.

S: Okay. So it was safer there. (T: Yah) Okay. About what time was this all happening? How many years, or was it months, or (--)

T: It was 1970. About a year, from 1970 to '71 been fighting in that area.

S: Can um, does he recall any specific battle he can, would like to tell us, or any, any memories that stand out?

T: He was, I guess it was heartbreaking, you know, that he never been fighting but was sent there in the most critical areas [of all] in fighting. So he was heartbreaking to be there at that moment.

A: Does he remember any specific battle where like a lot of guys were killed from the Commando Unit?

T: It was a split Division at that time. Many of his elite unit were betrayed as well too. So many of his unit were betrayed because of the political divide between the Neutral Government and the Royalist Government. So it was, it was not a heavy loss, but also heartbroken as well because you see many people were loss at that same time that the unit were split.

A: So within the unit that he was in there were people that were not loyal to the Royalist Government?

T: Right. They were, they were split to [unclear] the Vang Pao. Van Pao is Lieutenant Colonel. He was a Neutral Party.

A: Neutral. So he wasn't in favor of either the Communist or the Royal Government?

T: Right. Yes. So he formed his own party. So a lot of people who, who were (--) Vang Pao was supported by CIA. So he have a lot of cash to recruit the soldiers of the Commando Unit from the others to join the Neutral Army. So.

A: And when Sivilay says they were betrayed, how did that happen? What does that mean exactly?

T: It was more because he felt like he was being pulled out from the 205 Unit to support, because the Commando was fully trained. So they needed these people of professionals and well-equipped unit to support Vang Pao's unit. Because they all for the Communist, the same, but they have two different, between the Royal Armies and Neutral Armies, but

they both fought the Communists. But I believe he said it was needed. [Phone rings again]

A: Is that your phone [unclear]?

T: Oh! [Laughs] Hello!

[Talks on the phone in Laos-interview interrupted, and resumes again]

T: So he believes it was, he wasn't really disheartened, but it just to have that they needed his unit to support other units. But I don't think it's fair, I don't think, I think the way he felt.

S: He was torn between.

T: Yah.

S: Okay.

A: So, but he was active in fighting himself in [bounds]?

T: Umhm.

A: Okay.

S: And I guess my question is, he was going to be a monk, or he was a monk, (T: He was a monk) and then he was fighting. So if the war hadn't been there then (--)

T: Then he would be a monk.

S: He would be a monk. Okay.

T: It was a [loss hope] I would say because he was a monk, but then he'd been there for twenty-two years and he, perhaps he wants to become a civilian. But when he became civilian and then he wants to see a lot of opportunities, and believe it was false advertise from the military itself. Because yes, he wants to learn, he wants to you know, become the elite with other people, but we saw that he was sent to Thailand [unclear] as Commando Unit 205, but at the same time when he returned the country split between different parties, and that they're using his unit as an escape goat to fight the Communist, rather than using the National Army, but then they're using his unit to become part, to support the full front of the fighting. I think it's very simulate the Marines, the Commando Marine go first, infiltration, the enemy first. I think that's what he (--) It was a false hope for him, because they were using as escape goats rather than being regular National Army.

S: Okay. So he feels that the country let him down then. He feels that he was led under false pretenses?

T: Yes. Because, it's because it's just like they were sent. He said he was sent, but at the same time they were being divided, you know.

S: And so is that why he felt betrayed as well, (T: Yes) because of that? Okay.

T: But he believed that he stayed with his unit, he did not go to others.

A: So let's continue with this. So that, the warfare that he was doing was around 1971. What happened after that?

T: Yes. So basically since 1971 he, the unit will break apart. And there's a, they've been reassigned to Vientiane in 1971. And basically they unite all units, different divisions, return back to Vientiane. And basically all of his unit, there's only 36, what he said, 36 people. And then they said, you know, they protest because they'd been fighting there. They want to come home. They want to go to visit the hometown. It's been a [hard] life as a soldier so they want to resign. And they said, "No way you can resign, because there's war going on now." It's no different than the United States at that time. So basically they can protest you know, because they've been there already. They don't want to go there and die. So basically his Lieutenant said, you know, "All right. Who is going to resign right now, raise your hand?" And he's one of them. He said seven people resigned, 36 people survived. So he resigned and come back as civilian people. Tried to you know, get back to the basic life as other people, not military, for many, for several years as what you call, transportation? As, there's a carriage, you know. He was on the tricycle carriage, and the people that hop in the back.

A: Yah, like a [unclear].

T: Yah, ah huh, for a little while. Then he was, come back. You know, he come back to the military again as a PR, advertising, as a PR.

A: Public Relations person for the military?

T: For the military, for nine months.

A: A couple of questions that I have. So when he resigned from the service nobody gave him a hard time about that?

[Phone rings again, interview interrupted. Interview resumes]

T: I think it's very similar to [cannot translate rest of sentence because Sivilay is conversing on phone at same time KH is trying to respond to question] Yah, pretty much he said when he resigned there's no pressure from the government or the army, because I think they did their job, you know, in fighting.

A: And when he left the service did he stay in Vientiane?

T: Yah, it's more like at that time you know, because he had that experience, so basically he's recruiting and advertising. Rather than go fighting he's more recruiting in the five, six months recruiting people to go become soldiers.

S: That was my question, but did you have something? (A: No) I guess my question was that if he had had it with the military, he was done with it and he felt betrayed and all that, then why would he go back and want to work in PR, in public relations?

T: Basically he was consulted by elderly, by the people who come before him. So he was like, in the elderly you know, you've been served the country before, and you know, he should continue on that. Don't abandon your country. But he never learned his lesson. But he was consult by the elderly, because the elderly said, "Come on, you know, you've been there." And as being the PR for the military you don't have to go to war, but bring young people to, to you know, to join the military. It was his [unclear] they said, he never learned his lesson, but he was grateful to return to that service. But he was sent to the southern Pakse to do his same job as, as a PR, as a recruiter.

S: The Secret War, it took place in the 1960s and 70s. Did he experience bombing? Was he in an area that was bombed at that time?

A: Bombed by the US planes?

S: By the United States?

T: He heard about it.

A: Any experiences [unclear]?

T: He heard about it, but I guess it was so secret that they pretty much know, like even the military in Laos is all engaged in that. So he was like (--) So the northern of Laos, pretty much Long Tieng is like, but knew. Pretty much he only came up to the Division 2. Division 2 have never been up only because it was so secret. (A: Really, okay) Even their own military personnel didn't even know it.

S: So he didn't know what was going on at that time?

T: He just heard about it.

S: He heard about it from other people.

T: I think he was, rather than (--) I think he was like, fought between the mountain, between different mountain, but the area that heavily bomb pretty much they don't know about it, but the rumors came from the northern, you know, to him, the rumors. But he

was fought in pretty much like, different, where the Communist have a strong hold. I think the bomb in (--) I believe it was like, it wasn't because they have a specific target, because that area was [unclear]. The [trail], it came from like this. So that's where they got the most. But they were like, they were fighting in separate area.

S: Okay. Speaking of (--) I'm going to jump to the end of the war from that period? Was he captured by anyone? Was he, you know, taken as prisoner?

T: That's about when 55 people were captured from his, from his, not unit but as overall Division. And there's about twenty-five soldiers were abandoned, or captured. It was abandoned the post. So 53 people were pretty much like captured, but not him, but his friend, his other people. And 85 of them were abandoned their post, or need to join the Communist.

S: And when was that?

T: This is in 1970, at the same time. 1970. Yah, they were very smart, because you know, they nearly turned from their duties opposed to like what they call ambush.

S: Oh okay.

A: I'm sorry. Now this is, out of that original 420 Commandos, (T: Yes) or was this when he was working as a recruiter.

T: I think this is when he was in the Commandos, but different Division Army.

A: Okay. So he did recruiting for about eight or nine months. (T: Eight or nine months) What did he do after that till the Communists took over?

T: From '71 to '70 (--) '71 he was in southern Pakse. That's where he (--) Until 1973. And then 1973 to 1975 he's still as a recruiter until he, until the Communist take over. On August 15, 1975 he fled to Thailand.

S: Okay.

A: Oh, okay. So he fled right away. When did the Tet Laos take over?

T: December 2, 1975. So three months, like four months before they take over they fled.

S: Okay. So he went to Thailand. Was it (--) Did he go by himself?

T: At that time he was single. So there's no family. So he came by with his friend, and other fellow soldiers.

S: Okay. Now yah, why did he leave at that time?

T: Basically it was like seize fire 1973 until [unclear] 1974 United Coalition of all different parties, governments, Communist Government, Royal Government, Neutral Government, so they form a Coalition Government between 1973-74.

A: And there was a seize fire at that time?

T: Yes, and then at that (--) And then when they take, when they take on the Coalition Government they become what you call, eliminate you know, eliminate the (--) Basically the government of Laos get weaker [and weak]. So basically from 1974 to 1975 pretty much the pay from his duty was you know, that's [hardly] well paid compared to previous regime. So it was a very difficult life. That's the reason he fled the country.

S: Okay. Can you talk about going from Laos to Thailand? What that was like crossing over?

T: Basically it's you know, crossing the border typically, but he still have to pay them to leave.

S: Did he pay with money, or did he take something?

T: About 1,000 kip, that's probably about fifty cents.

A: He paid that to Laos people, or Thai people?

T: It's the commercial boat. It's Thai.

S: Okay. So him and his friends went over together.

T: Six, total with him. (S: Six of them) Five of his friends. (S: Okay) Umhm. They were single.

A: And they were all soldiers?

T: All soldiers.

S: And did they go at night?

T: Daytime.

S: Daytime?

T: Daytime. [Laughs] Former soldier.

S: Okay, that surprises me, because (--)

T: So they, they abandoned their recruiters, recruiting stations, because they were [unclear]. So they took the time to, to jump in the border [unclear].

S: Hm, so it's safer than I thought it was then.

T: Yah.

A: I think earlier it was easy to do, and then later it became harder.

S: And later it got harder. Okay, yah.

A: As more and more people came over.

S: Right, okay.

T: I think it's 1975 to 1982 it was difficult, because they know people leaving so they just have to escape.

S: Okay.

A: Do you think he was one of the first people to leave?

T: Basically the day before he left he was, because there were like five of them, and you know, they all, he [unclear] them, everything is all set. That day he kind of upset because you know, so he took out the [chuckles (chalk?)] from the store and wrote down on the wall. It said, "The end Paris," you know, refer to American, "have better system, better pays, money, they take care you know, the army is better than the Liberation Army," who is the Isalat, Laos. The Communist soldiers they call the Liberation Army. He said, "You know, you got better pay in Paris, American system, American ways of you know, the army." So he kind of like protest them. And basically so they came down to anybody in the base, and who wrote this [free hand] right. Who wrote this? You know, we want to test everybody's writing, right? That's his writing! [Laughs] And he was kind of scared. I think that's the reason he left, (S: Okay) because they're going to have everybody's handwriting to match the one that he wrote down. So that's the reason he left. He kind of protest them, you know. [Laughs]

A: So just back to Sarah's original question, was when he left do you think he was one of the first group to leave?

T: Pretty much he's more like not beginning, but more like (--) It's more like beginning, not the first, but beginning.

S: I see, the beginning wave.

T: Because the people who of course left is the people who know the future of the country who served in the military, and they know that the defensive line is broken already.

A: Okay, good.

S: Now how long was he there in Thailand, and was it a camp setup, or was it (-)

T: Well basically he left, at that time he's also, he knows that his future won't last long because of his protest. Secondly his friends said, "Hey, let's go to Thailand. Maybe we can join Thai Navy, you know? You can earn extra baht. Extra baht you know, extra money." So they say, "Why not? Let's leave." You know, so that's (--)

A: So they were going to try to join the Thai Navy?

T: Thai Navy. [Laughs]

A: Okay. And so just ask the question again?

S: And so how long were they, was he in Thailand for?

T: He was in Thailand from 1975 until 1979. 1979 he was in USA.

S: Okay. Was it a camp that was setup over there?

T: He was in the camp. He was in [Nong Kai].

A: For that entire time?

T: Yah, all the time he was there in Camp [Nong Kai].

S: Now how did it come about him coming to America from Thailand?

T: Before it was more like he was what you call a freedom fighter. Pretty much the people who was military was, and then they like came to Thailand to join all the units, just like independence day. So they all you know, they were fled to Thailand and then hoping that the United States and other country could support them [unclear] and go back and fight again. So he stayed there for four years. But that dream never come true to go back to fight. So he decided to come to the United States.

S: So he wanted to go back to Laos and fight?

T: Yes, it was pretty much they have dream that because they were, all units were joined back in Thailand. And [unclear] I just think they were misguided by the CIA who support them, but then they back off operations.

S: Okay, when did he come to America then?

T: He said 1979.

S: 1979 when he left. And did he have, where did he come to first? Did he come here?

T: North Dakota.

S: North Dakota.

T: Fargo.

S: Fargo?

T: Fargo, North Dakota.

A: Nice and warm there huh! [All laugh]

T: Pretty much like he stayed with the sponsor six, seven months. Eat bread, no rice.  
[Laughs]

A: No rice?

T: No rice.

S: Who was the (--)

T: Only Cambodian and Vietnamese, there's [barely] Laos. No Laos at all except he's single guy.

A: Oh really?

S: Wow.

A: What about his other friends?

T: So he never, since then he never know his friend. They all either die, went back, tried to go back to Laos, or just went to different countries. So he never know them since then.

S: Now the sponsor, was that a family member, or was, how did he know?

T: It's Americans. Roxanne and Bill, husband and wife, sponsor them.

A: What's the last name?

T: I don't know.

A: Roxanne and her husband's name?

T: Roxanne, wife, wife Bill.

S: And Bill?

T: Roseanne. Roseanne and (--)

S: Oh Roseanne, not Roxanne.

T: Yah. So, Roseanne and Bill. Bill and Roseanne. When he came, because they have no child. So they use him as an older child. [Laughs] They were powerfully religious. Most of the sponsor are from Christian (S: Background) communities. Catholics.

A: Catholics?

T: [Unclear] Christian. He went to church for two years, every Sunday. [Laughs]

S: When did he arrive in Lowell then?

T: Pretty much from, when he was in Fargo, North Dakota he moved to Moorhead, Minnesota. Okay, just repeat it. Pretty much like from Fargo, Dakota to Moorhead, Minnesota. From Minnesota to San Diego, California in '81, and then came to Lowell in 1985, and stayed with some [unclear], is the head of [Monk,] more like professors, [unclear] professors. He used to be like professor in Laos. So Professor [Sengprong Saitaley]. [Repeats] [Saitaley]. That is in Lowell in 1985.

A: Is he still around?

T: He moved to Florida. Yah, he still have contact with him. So that's the first contact that he came here.

A: Maybe he can talk a little bit about his time here in Lowell for the last 20 plus years; Work, family, community activities.

S: [Got his welcoming, or not.]

T: He married here and basically since then from 1985 until 1993 he's married to [name unclear], a Laos lady here. And she passed away in 1993 without leaving any child. So he'd been married but have no child. And then he never (--) And then ever since he never been married.

A: And has he worked over the years?

T: Basically he'd been working in, he'd been working as a cleaning in Minnesota. Then in California went back to welfare for two years. And then here he worked several years, about five years as in mill. [Chokes, need water] Basically he's been working almost five years around here ever since, but you know, until he's retired. He worked with mill, somewhere mill building, like Faulkner?

S: Faulkner Mills?

T: Faulkner Mills.

S: In Billerica though?

A: In North Billerica.

T: North Billerica.

A: What did you do in the mill?

T: It's more like cotton company. (A: Huh?) Cotton.

A: Oh really? He makes actually, they still had the cotton at that time?

T: Yah, at that time. (A: Textile) Yah, textile at that time.

A: He was a mill worker. Here's to you!

[All laugh]

S: Cheers!

A: How do you say cheers?

T: [Suhn].

A: [Suhn]. [Suhn].

T: Yah, yah, [Suhn]. Yes! [Laughs]

A: Just ask him if there any final thoughts he wants to contribute.

S: Oh yah, yah. Does he have any final, something he wants to say?

T: Yah, he would have loved you know, something [unclear], or he would have love you know, more like unities, more unities and recognize the different nationalities [unclear], otherwise we've torn us apart. Two, is respect others religions, because religion pretty much keep people together regardless of what religion you are. Third, education that you

prevent from future disasters. Fourth is more like career, like do what you believe that you love to do the most. That's four things he wants, because those things that [he lack of] and he respects that other people doesn't repeat it, that isn't true. Because remember we are Hmong and we have high hope, but there's war, there's unities, there's you know. So those are the four things that he had hoped for, but didn't have a chance to get it. So.

S: Okay. That's it I guess. I don't have anything else. Thank you very much, very, very much.

**End of interview.**